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ABSTRACT

A study sought: to identify regular classroom teachers' philosophies of bilingual education and the relationship of this philosophy to instructional decisions; to have teachers describe the operational details of the bilingual program in their school, and their perceptions of program effectiveness; and to have teachers describe the institutional context of their bilingual program. Subjects were 33 teachers in a single school who completed a survey. In addition, 12 of these teachers (two from each grade level) were selected for classroom observation and in-depth interviews based on a range of stated beliefs and philosophies about assimilation and cultural pluralism. Nine of the twelve teachers were Anglos; three were Hispanic. Analysis of results revealed three important levels in implementation of a bilingual program (school site, district, and state) and ways in which they affect teachers' experiences and views about bilingual programming. These findings are discussed. Questionnaire and interview questions are appended. Contains 59 references. (MSE)

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ED 420 208

Classroom Teachers' View of a Bilingual Program

By

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Introduction

Bilingual education has a long history of controversy in the United States (Crawford, 1989; Hakuta, 1986; Macedo, 1991; Ochoa, 1989; Ovando, 1996; Porter, 1996). The controversy has centered on language politics, cultural values and identity issues. Teachers and students are at the center of this debate whether they know it or not. As a second language learner myself, I am acutely aware of how these issues affect the daily school reality of a child. Teachers are in a position of power. They control reality for students in their classrooms; they are the "decisive element in the classroom" (Ginott, 1972, p. 15).

This powerful relationship begins when a child first enters the classroom. It is complicated if that child does not know the language of the teacher. The teacher, on the other hand, does not have to know the child's language. The teacher's attitude about this issue uniquely affect children whose Primary Home Language is Other Than English (PHLOTE).

Defining the Areas of Study

Teachers operate in "loosely coupled" (Weick, 1976) environments and as such interpret and implement the intent of laws in unique ways. The pivotal Supreme Court decision of Lau v. Nichols which first mandated that schools "open instruction" (Garcia, 1990, p.62) to language minority students in San Francisco, eventually trickled down into other rulings. These broad guidelines for bilingual education are interpreted by individual states, which in turn formulate guidelines for school districts to implement. In the school district used in this study, schools are given the latitude to design their own program by submitting a proposal to the State Department. A committee of volunteers generates this proposal at the school. It is composed of bilingual resource teachers, classroom teachers, administrators and other support personnel.

Classroom teachers have a unique position in this proposal writing process, which encompasses an array of laws, mandates and guidelines. Through this document and its subsequent funding, teachers play a decisive role in obtaining services for PHLOTE students. Their understanding and training have a direct impact on the instruction of these students and indirectly through the implementation of the bilingual proposal. The interaction of a teacher's private belief system and the complex network we call school, and more specifically the interpretation and implementation of these bilingual mandates, is the focus of this study.

Specifically, this study will pursue the following objectives:

1. to identify a teacher's philosophy of bilingual education and its relationship to her instructional decisions,
2. to have teachers describe the operational details of the bilingual program they have in their school and their perception of its effectiveness and

3. to have teachers describe the institutional context of the bilingual program.

Sociocultural Perspectives

There has been a great deal of criticism and debate about bilingual education in the United States. The debate has focused on several issues related to views about the importance of learning English: How quickly can English be acquired? What is the best method of accomplishing the learning of English? Who should receive services for learning English? The political debate affects funding and language planning for LEP students. I will discuss the intersection of these issues from a sociocultural perspective.

The Political Debate

Parents and students alike have become targets of the English-only movement. Parents, especially immigrant parents, have been criticized for being at the heart of the problem, especially in large urban areas where many immigrants settle to provide a better life for their children. Many American citizens who are not recent immigrants fear that social programs will drain tax dollars to pay for programs to educate the children of recent immigrants. At the heart of many of these attitudes are underlying currents of nationalistic values, xenophobia and racism (Diaz, 1986).

Many politicians have led this debate over nationalistic values by stating that as "Americans" we all should know English, and only English should be taught in schools. This can be argued as a cloak for "thinly veiled racism" (Ovando, 1996, p. 504) since the people rallying for this approach are mainly Anglo males in positions of power. They fail to grasp the intimate relationship between language, culture and identity, or perhaps because of this failure, it evokes racism. Language is centrally located to one's identity (Crawford, 1989), yet many politicians are reluctant to make this admission. How does the larger political debate regarding the English-only movement affect the education of students whose home language is not English or that of the dominant culture?

The debate over immigration and welfare dollars is of particular import to this study because it frames the larger political debate in terms of tax dollars and how money is appropriated for bilingual programs. Funding for bilingual programs affects the daily lives of students who are acquiring a second language. In most cases these are poor urban or rural families who have been isolated economically from the mainstream culture. This isolation includes the linguistically hostile environment of schools without bilingual programs (Eriksen, 1992). Even in schools where there are bilingual programs, "the larger school environment remains an English-speaking institution" (Escamilla, 1994, p.23) because Spanish is not considered a status

language. While French, German and Spanish are taught in most high schools, Spanish is seen as the less prestigious language to learn. Ochoa (1989) goes on by stating that native Spanish speakers are not considered to be as beneficial to an organization as Anglo speakers of Spanish:

> Anglos who speak Spanish are in fact regarded as possessing a major asset. A lot of people, particularly those in authority, do not regard Spanish as an asset in Hispanic personnel. Instead, it is treated like a threat. (A-15)

Ovando (1996) continues,

> "On the one hand we encourage and promote the study of foreign languages for English monolinguals, at great cost and with great inefficiency. At the same time we destroy the linguistic gifts that children from non-English-language backgrounds bring to our schools." (p.517)

Personnel in bilingual schools who speak Spanish are often custodians, secretaries or educational assistants who have not gone to college and who mirror the inferior status of Spanish in the school. The state where this study was conducted does not offer pay incentives to bilingual teachers, unlike its neighboring states who pay bilingual teachers a differential because they are bilingual. This state has failed to attract and maintain teachers in bilingual programs due to a lack of additional funding from the state or school district. The political atmosphere, which surrounds bilingual programs, cannot be ignored since it reflects the views of the dominant culture and its attitudes about bilingual education.

Opposing Views: Pluralism versus Assimilationism.

The debate at the macro political level can be separated into two distinct frames of reference delineated in many research articles: the assimilationist and the pluralist (Macedo, 1991, Ravitch, 1985, Secada, 1990). The debate about the necessity of bilingual education has deep sociocultural roots. The pluralists believe that bilingual education can be an enriching, intellectual program that should maintain a child's first language (Collier, 1995; Garcia, 1990; Medrano, 1988, Walsh, 1988; Yorio, 1988). Assimilationists, on the other hand, believe that students should be assimilated into the mainstream of American society by learning English as quickly as possible (Baker, 1992; Epstein, 1977; Porter, 1996; Rossell, 1988; Rossell, 1992; Snow, 1988). These two contrasting points of view are often characterized as the melting pot versus vegetable soup. The melting pot refers to the assimilationist's desire for all ethnic groups to melt into one conglomerate mixture where the original ingredients are indecipherable. The pluralists refer to a vegetable soup metaphor where the ingredients remain distinct and true to their original nature. These two opposing groups can be further delineated into supporters of two very different models of bilingual education.

These opposing points of view have been characterized by bilingual educators as "subtractive" and "additive" bilingualism (Lambert, 1975; Willig, 1985, p.273). The assimilationist would support subtractive bilingual programs while the pluralist would defend the benefits of a maintenance model. The pluralist hold that "additive bilingualism" maintains a child's first language while adding a second language, English. "Subtractive bilingualism" proponents want the child to learn a second language while subtracting the child's first language. In other words, the child's first language is not maintained while a second one is added, but rather the first language is gradually forgotten and the second language takes its place. The pluralist's view is that bilingual education is an asset to all students' education. The assimilationist's view bilingual education as a necessary evil for non-English speakers, so they can learn English as quickly as possible and become part of mainstream American culture. The pluralists, on the other hand, think that non-native speakers should be allowed and encouraged to keep their language as an asset to global communication. Because of recurrent themes of nationalism in the assimilationist views, many Americans have rallied to support the English only movement.

This debate and policy at the macro level trickles down to students via attitudes of teachers toward bilingual teachers and bilingual students. Non-Spanish speaking teachers reflect the attitudes of the broader political debate in subtle interactions with students of color and their bilingual peer teachers. Both of these groups, can be marginalized in a school setting (Ada, 1991). Teachers who speak Spanish or who are Hispanic "perceive Hispanic students in a more favorable light than their European American teachers do" (Quintanar-Sarellana, 1997). This problem is magnified when considering the demographic figures in the United States.

> The total US population in 1990 was 248.8 million and the projected total for 2040 is 355.5 million. From 1980 to 1990, the number of persons who spoke languages other than English in the US increased approximately 38% (8.9 million), and it is projected that this number will almost triple, reaching 96.1 million, by 2040. Hispanics alone are projected to exceed 64 million by 2040 (nearly tripling in fifty years) (Cisneros & Leone, 1990, p.361).

With these figures in mind, the discrepancy between teachers of color and students of color continues to widen. Eighty percent of the teaching force in the year 2000 will be Anglo teachers (Klauke, 1989). Unless teachers are educated in second language acquisition strategies and more importantly, cultural sensitivity to the asymmetrical relationship between their position of privilege (Sleeter, 1996) and their students of color, racism will subtlety continue in our schools. Attitudes and sensitivity to civil rights of students cannot be legislated but teachers' knowledge base regarding cultural sensitivity can be deepened with professional development activities which promote openness to pluralistic values (Ada, 1986). Positions of power and beliefs about assimilation all touch on the issues of power, language and literacy and can be traced to the pivotal work of Freire (1982) in this area.

Teachers are often unaware of their biases and blame parents for their failures to properly teach their children at home. This assumption inherently alienates students and parents from culturally different homes. Teachers relate to parents and students from a cultural deficit mentality rather than viewing this challenge in all its cultural richness (Reyes, 1992a). Parents of linguistically different children are often treated with disregard and disrespect for their cultural heritage. Issues of race and class intersect to marginalize parents from teachers. Teachers see these families as failures because they are poor and uneducated. These families reside, for the most part, in poorer areas of cities and towns all over America. It is not a problem that will fade away. Teachers face an ever-increasing multilingual, multiracial population.

Language Politics

Criticism of bilingual education has focused on Spanish and language politics. Many proponents of bilingual education see this criticism as a colonization mentality rooted in history, especially since much of the southwestern United States was once Mexico. Many bilingual supporters see this colonization mentality as a continuation of the oppression of the Latinos and racism couched in language politics. (Crawford, 1989; Ogbu, 1978; Spener, 1988). Ogbu (1990) goes on to explain that Hispanics, African Americans, Native Americans, Mexican Americans and native Hawaiians are all "involuntary minorities" because they are people who have been brought to the United States through slavery, conquest or colonization"(p.145).

Porter (1996) frames these issues in a completely different light. She does not admit to the relationship of identity and language to cultural values. She sees the issue as a language issue and the need to educate students in transitional bilingual programs which stress immersion in English. Her view is supported by many English-only advocates (Baker & de Kanter, 1981; Dunn, 1987; Gersten and Woodward, 1985a, 1985b; Ravitch, 1985). Porter strongly criticizes bilingual advocates for trying to continue the "bilingual education establishment" (p.39).

Relating the language plan to the sociopolitical context has received extensive coverage in the literature on language and power (Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Gee, 1991; Lemke, 1989, 1990). These discussions relate the language of power, which is English in the United States, to larger ideologies which are reflected in the practices of institutions. Schools are institutions which reflects these ideologies. Some of these ideologies relate to sociocultural context of language planning while others relate to beliefs about assimilation mentioned above. Language planning is often considered from a language as problem orientation until Ruiz (1984), began turning this view around by initiating the concept of "language as resource." The pluralistic view that language is an asset which will enhance communication is reflected in our technologically advanced society.

However, these studies do not examine the actual process of language implementation at the school level by classroom teachers. Freeman (1996) reflects this view in her study of Oyster Elementary School in Washington, D.C. Even though students were grouped in classes to reflect a pluralistic blend of students from various cultural and class backgrounds, students segregated themselves in social interactions and groups outside the classroom to reflect the dominant culture.

> "...the African American English-speaking girls tended to form one group, and the White English speaking girls, to form another. Within the Spanish-speaking female population, the White Spanish-speaking girls generally stayed together, and the darker Hispanic girls (who happened to come from the lowest income bracket) tended to form a separate group. (Freeman, 1996, p.578)

The implementation of bilingual programs is in the hands of classroom teachers, but they cannot dictate student social interactions. They can make suggestions and work with students to mediate racial and class tensions, but oftentimes student interactions, are reflective of larger societal issues. Federal and state guidelines legislate certain standards for bilingual programs, but their actual implementation is left to classroom teachers at the school level. Enforcement of regulations cannot possibly be supervised by local state departments. It is left to individual school districts to implement these programs which are further delineated by the instructional methods used in bilingual programs.

Research Method

In order to gain a better understanding of how a bilingual program is implemented, an ethnographic methodology seemed best suited to obtain an emic or personal perspective of teachers' views of these mandates and how they implement them in their classrooms. An ethnographic approach allowed for an in depth description of the bilingual program in the school from classroom teachers' point of view through the interviews. The semi-weekly observations of classrooms involved in the study and the analysis of bilingual documents relevant to the bilingual program at the school site added to an overall portrait of the context of the study. In addition, this method allowed for the analyses of a wide range of data related to the bilingual program at the school site which included the above mentioned elements and documents. These documents included the bilingual proposal, the district guidelines for bilingual programs, the corrective action plan from the Office of Civil Rights, leadership meeting minutes related to bilingual issues and field notes. The leadership team minutes are prepared weekly by the reporter on this team. The field notes include observation notes from classroom visits, curriculum and leadership meetings. This additional data was used to formulate a deeper understanding of teachers' perceptions of various issues. Without this data, an overall view of the implementation of the bilingual proposal was impossible.

The importance of teacher voice is to emphasize a praxis orientation to this research. As Brown and Tandon (1978) have stated, interviews and the importance given to participants to reflect on their practice can propel them forward to change.

The interview process can be a "catalyst" for change. This method of self-analysis adds a dimension of empowerment (Anderson, Herr & Nihlen, 1994; Lather, 1986) to the researched and will "help participants understand and change their situations" (Lather, p.263). In addition, teacher voice about bilingual education is rarely made public. It is assumed that if a teacher is at a bilingual school, then it logically follows that this person supports a bilingual program model. However, teacher placement in schools falls within the realm of fate many times and who is where, teaching what, depends on many more factors besides commitment to a particular program model. This study will aim to make teacher knowledge of bilingual education public. Although this is not a prototypical action research study, one of my essential motives for doing this study is the "will to improve the quality of teaching and learning as well as the conditions under which teachers and students work in schools" (Altrichter, et. al. 1995, p. 4).

Qualitative research from classroom teachers' perspectives on the operational details of bilingual programs is scant in the literature (Quintanar-Sarellana, 1992). Many of the studies are quantitative data analyzes statistics related to test scores but little attention is given to program content (Willig, 1985). Teachers, administrators and policy makers give little or no attention to the relationship between the macro level issues of language planning and their actual implementation (Freeman, 1996). We do not know how these various levels of power affect instructional models at the school level.

As a second language learner myself, I am acutely aware of the struggles students face as they enter the strange and cold environment of a school. As a five year old first grader, I could not understand what the teacher was saying as she opened and closed her mouth and words floated through the air as unintelligible sounds that had no meaning. This frightening and hostile "linguistic environment" (Eriksen, 1992, p. 315) makes an indelible impression in the minds of young children, some of whom never overcome this stigma and the paralyzing effect this can have on one's psyche. My parents were chastised and punished by teachers for speaking Spanish in the northern New Mexico town of Mora. My father quit school when he was in sixth grade. My mother quit school in tenth grade and married by sixteen. They were the victims of an institution that did not provide bilingual services to young people. These inequities are not only something from the bygone past but they are a reality for many students in our current society. The need for bilingual programs is clearly evident, yet many Americans are still caught up in nationalist ideologies that promote the English only movement.

Selection of the Setting

This site was selected for a variety of reasons. The primary reason it was selected was based on the student population, which is 96% minority. Seventy-five percent are Hispanic, eleven percent are Native American and four percent are Asian (see tables 2,3 and graphs 1, 2). The majority of these students receive bilingual services. The bilingual program generates funds to employ additional teachers to work with this minority population. Since all staff members are involved in the bilingual program, this site was deemed ripe for a study of this nature. Moreover, I was a participant observer at the site and very involved in all levels of the implementation of the bilingual program as program coordinator of various state and federally funded programs. I had intimate, first hand knowledge of the federal, state and district guidelines related to the bilingual program at the school, as well as a thorough understanding of this particular site.

Classroom Teacher Survey

The questions developed for the in-depth portion of this study were directly related to the pilot study using the questionnaire in Appendix A which was conducted the year before this study commenced. I have not attempted to include the results of the pilot study at this writing because that would be a study in and of itself; the pilot study was used to guide this study and to access teachers' satisfaction with the organization of teams and the relationship of this structure to the delivery of bilingual services.

After the pilot study, the survey questions in Appendix B were circulated to all staff members with the leadership team's consent in the fall of 1996. The survey questions were distributed to all thirty-three classroom teachers with a 100% return.

After these surveys were received, I categorized them as supportive of maintenance or transitional programs, depending on the box that was checked on the form. Since many teachers had written comments on the forms, I used these broad categories as a framework to select teachers from a continuum of beliefs about bilingual education. This continuum of beliefs range from a belief in teaching English as quickly as possible to the maintenance of the student's home language, which takes a longer period of time but emphasizes the development of two languages. In addition, if a teacher indicated that a child should learn English as quickly as possible, then they were listed as transitional program model supporters. If they indicated that students should keep their home language and be supported by the school in this goal, then they were listed as maintenance model supporters. These were merely preliminary categories. This was not intended to limit my views of teachers' support or non-support of bilingual education.

Selection of Participants

From this group of thirty-three teacher who filled out these forms, twelve teachers were selected for the in-depth interviews. The twelve teachers selected to participate in the study were representative of a continuum of beliefs and philosophy about assimilation and cultural pluralism. This span of beliefs ranged from support of a maintenance model, which supports home language maintenance, to a more assimilationist transitional program model. I also wanted to include two representatives from each grade level from kindergarten to fifth grade. In addition, I selected teachers who had been at the school at least three years and who would presumably be familiar with the workings of the bilingual program. I chose representatives with varying degrees of second language ability and ethnicity. Since the majority of teachers at Mariposa are Anglo, the sample includes nine Anglos and only three Hispanics. The Hispanics were not selected merely for their ethnicity. They were selected for two reasons. They were providing a program that was highly regarded at the school and the only other two third grade teachers were Anglo. The other Hispanic teacher represented the program model used by the intermediate grades. So the sample included teachers using a wide range of program models in use at the school. When I personally asked teachers to participate in the study and I explained the process of interviewing and observing in their classroom, two of the twelve teachers chose not to participate in the study. They did not want to be observed or interviewed. Two other teachers were subsequently approached and agreed to participate.

Teachers who participated in this study agreed to be interviewed and observed during the course of the study. The majority were Anglo teachers and three Latina/o teachers. Two teachers from each grade level were selected and asked to participate in the study. The teachers who participated in this study were mostly Anglo which is representative of the staff as a whole. Most of the Hispanic personnel who speak Spanish are non-certified staff. They are classified staff who are educational assistants, custodial, or clerical workers. One Hispanic and one Anglo teacher are fluent Spanish speakers. The other Hispanic and Anglo teachers speak Spanish to the degree indicated in Table 1.

Characteristics of Participants

Table 1

TEACHER NAME	GRADE	LANGUAGE ABILITY	ETHNICITY	SUPPORTS PROGRAM TYPE
1. BEVERLY	KINDER	NSS	ANGLO	TRANSITIONAL
2. TONI	KINDER	LSS	ANGLO	MAINTENANCE
3. JOHNNIE	FIRST	LSS	ANGLO	TRANSITIONAL
4. BARBARA	FIRST	LSS	ANGLO	TRANSITIONAL
5. MARIAH	SECOND	LSS	ANGLO	TRANSITIONAL
6. HOPE	SECOND	LSS	ANGLO	TRANSITIONAL
7. EMILIO	THIRD	FSS	HISPANIC	MAINTENANCE
8. ROSA	THIRD	LSS	HISPANIC	MAINTENANCE
9. LINDA	FOURTH	FSS	ANGLO	MAINTENANCE
10. SALLY	FOURTH	NSS	ANGLO	TRANSITIONAL
11. DALLAS	FIFTH	NSS	ANGLO	MAINTENANCE
12. MARIA	FIFTH	FSS	HISPANIC	MAINTENANCE

LEGEND:
NSS=Non-Spanish speaker
LSS=Limited Spanish speaker
FSS=Fluent Spanish speaker

Teachers selected for this study were chosen based on the response to the starred question in Appendix B. The question was meant to distinguish an assimilationist from a pluralist, a supporter of transitional programs to a supporter of maintenance programs. An assimilationist would support a transitional program that teaches students English as quickly as possible in contrast to a maintenance supporter who prefers students to

The other nine teachers who participated in the study have varying degrees of knowledge of Spanish: four have some knowledge of Spanish and the other five know little or no Spanish and depend on their bilingual support teacher or their educational assistant to help them with LEP students. The language ability categories were not based on any formal test. They were based on observations and my communication with them in Spanish, self-reported knowledge and input from the bilingual resource teachers. These teachers represent the Spanish language proficiency of the staff as a whole. However, the majority of Spanish speakers are support personnel who are bilingual and Title 1 teachers, educational assistants and office staff. The educational assistants are vital in the delivery of services to kindergarten students at this school because none of these teachers are fluent Spanish speakers. Educational assistants are provided to special education teachers and many of them are also bilingual, but they do not directly work with classroom teachers. The office staff are integral in communicating information to parents as they greet them on a daily basis. The principal and assistant principal do not speak Spanish and need an interpreter to communicate with Spanish or Vietnamese speaking parents.

Bilingual resource teachers worked with the primary grade classrooms, while the intermediate grades have a team teaching model in place (Figure 1). The teachers who are team teaching have one person on the team who is a fluent Spanish speaker. The third grade team and one of the fourth/fifth grade team was created by the teachers on a voluntary basis. Sally and Maria's fourth/fifth grade team was established and encouraged by the principal due to the needs of the students at these grades. These two teachers did not choose this situation.

The Setting

Demographics of Mariposa Elementary School

The school has one of the largest student populations in the district. The student population is composed of minority students who receive bilingual, Title I, Special Education and Indian Education services. Many of these students are Limited English speakers and represent various ethnic groups. (Graphs 1, 2, Tables 2,3)

Table 2
Ethnicity of Student Population

	Hispanic	Nat Am	Af-Amer	Asian	Anglo	Total
Kindergarten	110	15	5	2	5	137
First Grade	97	19	7	5	9	137
Second Grade	93	13	6	4	6	122
Third Grade	75	14	3	8	11	111
Fourth Grade	89	10	3	7	7	116
Fifth Grade	82	12	3	3	6	106
Total	557	83	27	29	44	729

Graph 1
Ethnicity of Student Population

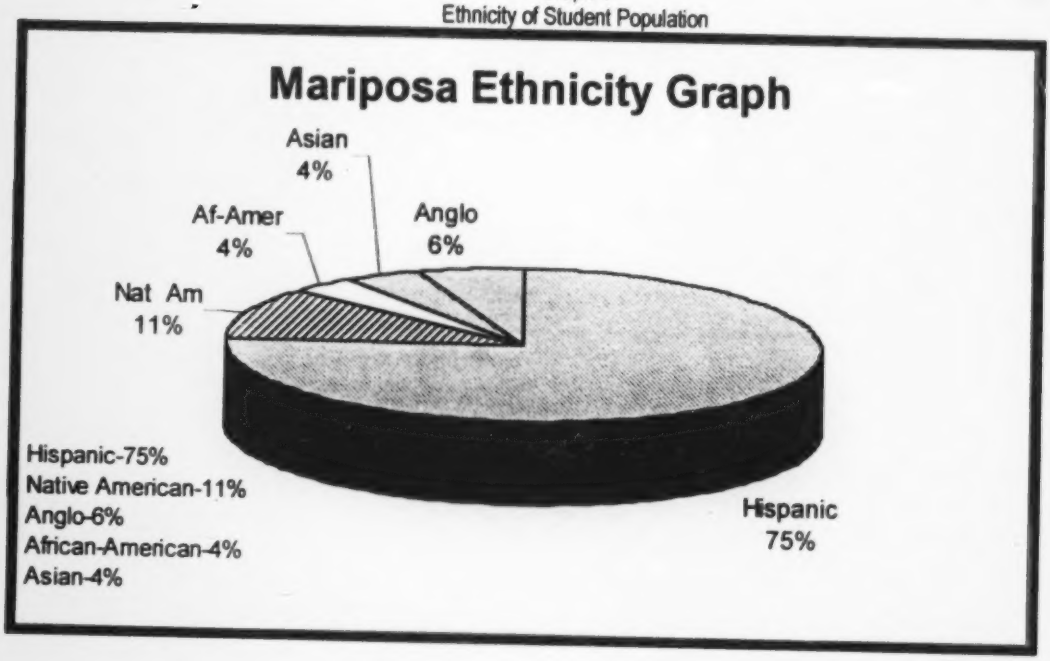
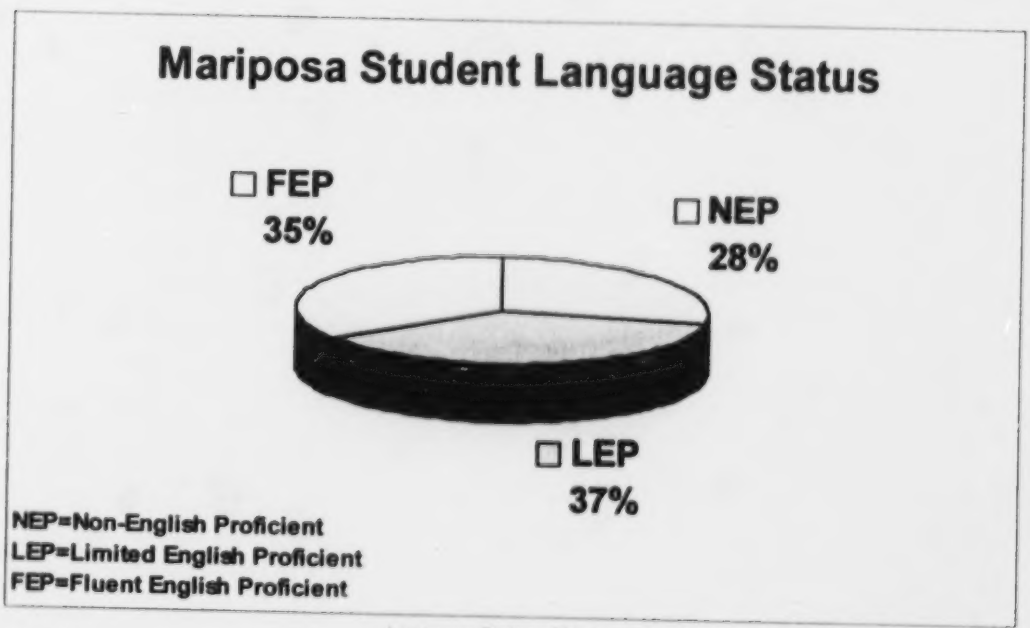


Table 3
Language Status of Mariposa Students

	NEP	LEP	FEP	Total
Kindergarten	64	16	57	137
First Grade	66	29	42	137
Second Grade	32	49	41	122
Third Grade	20	36	55	111
Fourth Grade	15	73	28	116
Fifth Grade	8	65	33	106
Total	205	268	256	729

NEP=Non English Proficient
LEP=Limitied EP
FEP=Fluent EP

Graph 2

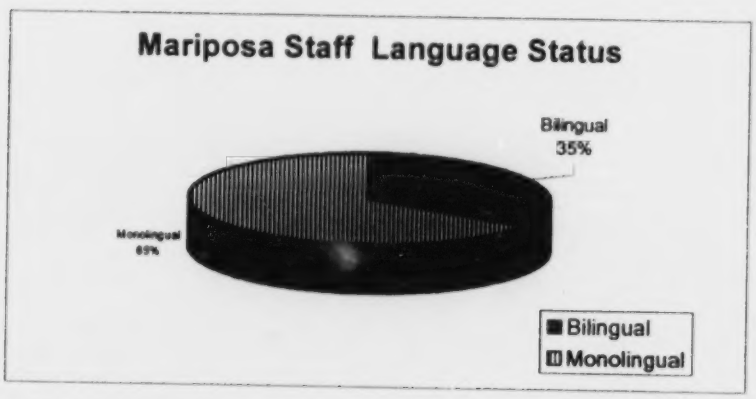


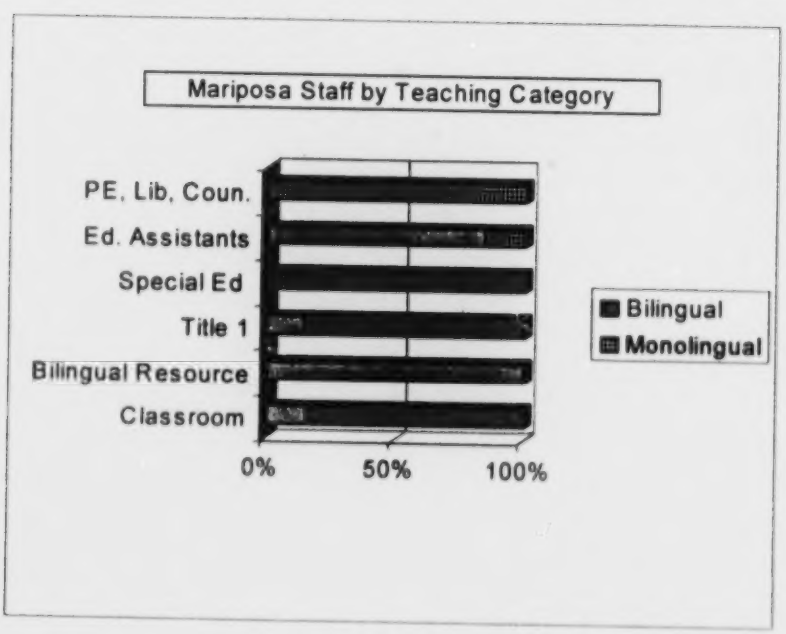
Language Status of Mariposa Students

The school population is composed of mainly Hispanic students with limited English proficiency. Many are literate in their home language if they immigrated to the United States after their primary schooling. The Vietnamese population has

decreased dramatically compared to ten years ago when this group was the majority at the school. Since only 35% of the student population are fluent English speakers and only five teachers are fluent Spanish speakers, the need for a special program to meet the needs of these students is clearly evident. It was recently reported in the local newspaper that Mariposa had the lowest test scores in the city for the 1996-97 school year on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. The students scored in the twelfth percentile which is far below the district average at the fiftieth percentile.

Graphs 3 and 4 visually represents all the Mariposa staff. The majority of the staff is monolingual except in certain





Graphs 3 & 4

categories.

The demographics of the staff directly affect student learning since their training and language ability determine the team teaching situations at Mariposa Elementary School. Teachers' concerns about the bilingual education model used at Mariposa focused on staffing issues related to their daily interactions with support staff and other teachers.

Staffing issues focused on two areas:

- *team teaching*
- *language use*

Embedded within the *team teaching* theme were issues related to (1) the creation of the team, (2) the models teams chose, (3) the relationships among team members and (4) team members' characteristics. Team teaching situations were created by teachers themselves or by the principal. Issues related to the creation of these teams revolved around the relationships among these team members. Models of bilingual delivery were created based on individual team member characteristics. The intersection of these variables determined the instructional models used in the school.

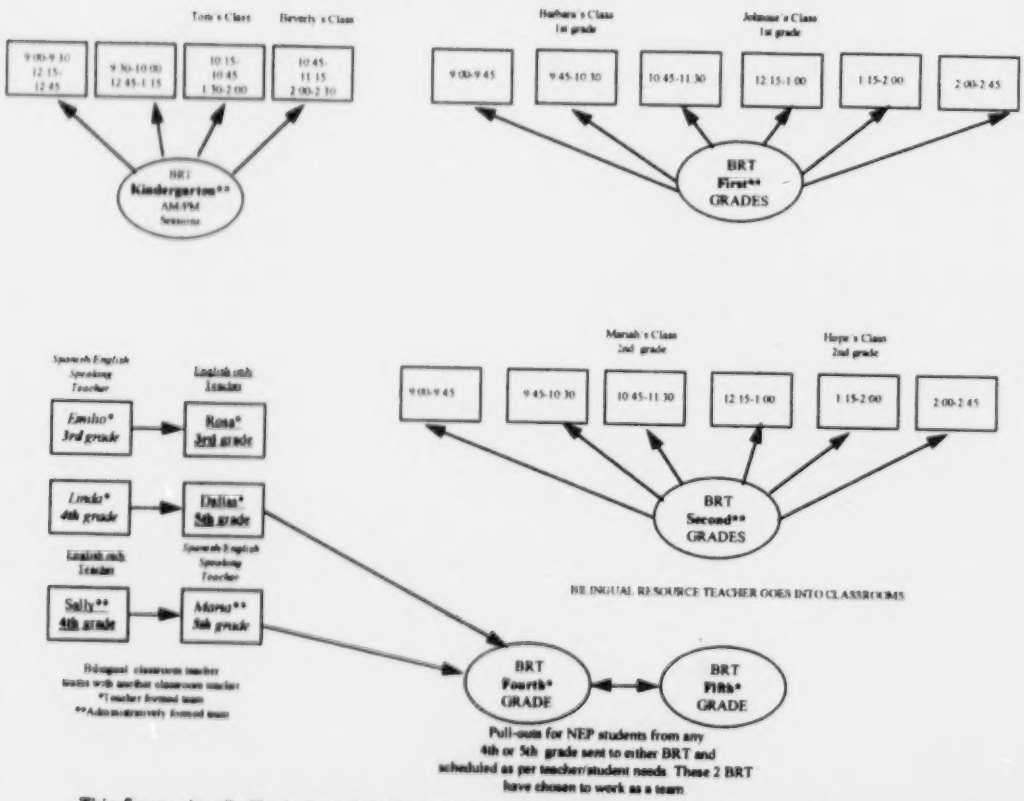
Language use impacted classroom instruction directly and determined many of the team teaching situations. The various models used in the school were determined by language ability of the classroom teacher, the BRT, the educational assistants, and the students. The language ability of the classroom teacher, the BRT and the students were of prime importance in the implementation of the bilingual program. Teachers' philosophy about language maintenance affected student/teacher relationships and perception about the effectiveness of the bilingual program at Mariposa. Language issues related to teacher philosophy determined a teacher's commitment to the bilingual program and the resolve to work out differences in the delivery of specific models.

Staffing and school climate issues were the major themes. The relationship between these two major themes displayed inequities in the delivery of services to PHLOTE students, which influenced teachers' perceptions about the bilingual program in general. Even though various program models were used at Mariposa, teachers were generally unhappy with the results and stopped using many of these models the following year.

The dominant themes in this study were related to staffing issues and the overall school climate. The philosophy of the school was based on literacy as a primary focus in their mission statement. Yet there was a great deal of controversy over the wording of the mission statement and the exclusion of the word "biliteracy" as an attainable goal.

Figure 1

Overview: Staffing patterns for the 12 classroom teachers in the study



This figure visually illustrates all three models in one graphic. In each of these models the staffing to meet the home language component of the bilingual program was very different, yet similar themes were evident throughout the three models.

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The difference is in the movement of the teacher. In models A and B, the students did not move, the teachers did. In Model C, the students came to the teacher. These themes are discussed below.

The Relationships among Team Members

Classroom teachers worked with members of the school staff in a variety of programs. The bilingual program was one of many competing for classroom teacher time, which was reluctantly given because of state mandates. Both Johnnie and Mariah stated in their interviews that they felt they could more effectively meet the needs of their students without the help of their BRT. Toni and Beverly felt the same way about their BRT. All four of these classroom teachers expressed concerns over the competence of their BRT which will be discussed in greater detail under team member characteristics. These forced relationships took their toll on team members.

In discussing the "uncommoness" of teacher pairing Lortie notes that it is usually the result of "informal mutual choice...." or "bonds of friendship...." (Lortie, 1975, p.193). Toni clearly states the problems inherent in these relationships if trust and bonds of friendship are not established first.

> When I've been thinking about teaming, I teamed with a person at (name of another school, not Mariposa) and we didn't team until after we had been friends for three years. We had been friends for three years before we took that jump and so I think OK we got the chance to go through just being friends, trusting each other and then getting to that point where you can work on common goals. So when you are with someone that is just going to people's classrooms, you have to be aware of that. That automatically people aren't going to trust you. And people aren't going to know where you are coming from. Until.... that's one of your jobs..... is to be someone that is non-threatening, to be someone that is supportive of someone else. To be a good listener and to figure out.... because you're not going to be able to work the same way in every classroom.

The principal paired these teachers in an effort to meet the needs of the student population, and in part because of the lack of qualified staff, and her inability to hire a sufficient amount of bilingual classroom teachers who could work in individual classrooms because of funding limitations. Teachers are hired to fill vacancies at particular grade levels, which is a common practice in all schools. At Mariposa it became more problematic because teachers were forced into teaming situations that were not necessarily productive pairings.

The difficulties teachers expressed with the various team teaching models were more clearly related to staffing problems rather than a lack of support of the bilingual program or their negative and ambivalent responses to the effectiveness of the program at the school. Teachers' lack of information about the bilingual proposal and their lack of input into this document created many of the staffing problems. They were not part of the decision-making process when the principal assigned them to

certain teams. In addition, two of the BRTs were seen an ineffective and this would color their perception of the effectiveness of the bilingual program in general.

Table 4

Relationship of teacher language ability, ethnicity, program model support and training to perception of effectiveness of bilingual program model

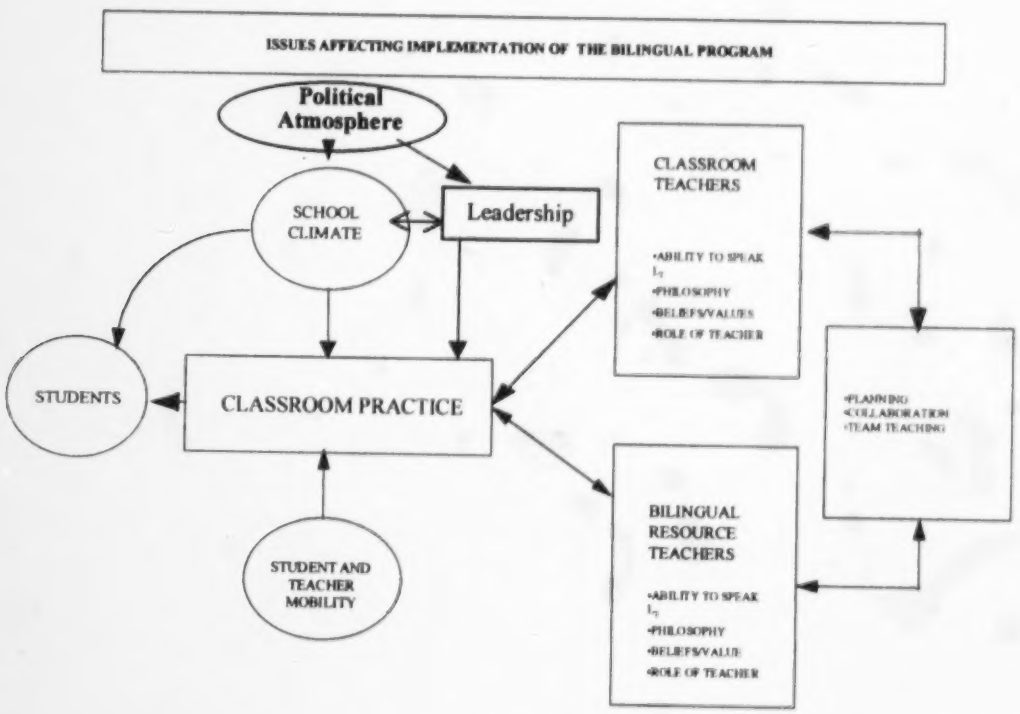
TEACHER	GRADE	L A	ETHNICITY	P T	EFF	TT(I or V)	TRAINING
1. BEVERLY	KINDER	NSP	ANGLO	T	A	I	-
2. TONI	KINDER	LSP	ANGLO	M	A	I	+
3. JOHNNIE	FIRST	LSP	ANGLO	T	A	I	+++
4. BARBARA	FIRST	LSP	ANGLO	T	YES	V	+
5. MARIAH	SECOND	LSP	ANGLO	T	NO	I	+
6. HOPE	SECOND	LSP	ANGLO	M	A	I	+
7. EMILIO	THIRD	FSP	HISPANIC	M	A	V	++++
8. ROSA	THIRD	LSP	HISPANIC	M	A	V	++
9. LINDA	FOURTH	FSP	ANGLO	M	A	V	++++
10. SALLY	FOURTH	NSP	ANGLO	T	NO	I	-
11.DALLAS	FIFTH	NSP	ANGLO	M	A	V	++++
12.MARIA	FIFTH	FSP	HISPANIC	M	NO	I	++++

Legend: LA-Language Ability NSP=Non-Spanish Speaker, LSP=Limited Spanish Speaker, FSP=Fluent Spanish Speaker
PT=Program Type: T=Transitional, M=Maintenance
EFFectiveness: Yes, No, A*= Ambivalent
TT=Team Teaching: I=Involuntary (administrator selected) V=Voluntary (teacher selected)
BC=Bilingual Certificate,
ESL=English as a Second Language Certificate
Training:

- \- none
- \+ some workshops
- ++ coursework up to 12 hours
- +++ up to 18 hours
- ++++ 19 hours or more

Another important issue that I referred to in Figure 1 is the nature of the team teaching situation. Although language ability plays an important role in the everyday reality of classroom life, teacher attempts to acquire the student language were dependent on beliefs and values about second language acquisition in general. Whether or not a teacher was in a voluntary or involuntary teaming situation may have affected teachers' views of the effectiveness of the bilingual program, but I think beliefs about the role of the teacher were more significant than the use of language and attitudes toward students. My observations in classrooms indicated that teachers who respected their students and offered them choices about their school day were more effective in their relationships with students and the cooperation they received from students.

Figure 2



The students are ultimately affected by classroom practice. The political atmosphere and the school climate indirectly subsume classroom practice and are directly affected by the decisions of leadership, whether that be the principal or the leadership team. The relationship between the classroom teachers and the bilingual resource teachers at Mariposa were influenced by the teachers' ability to speak a second language, their philosophy about bilingual education, their beliefs and values about the role of the teacher and the nature of second language learners(Martinez. 1998).

Summary of Findings

This study identified three important levels in the implementation of a bilingual program: 1) the school site, 2) the district, and 3) the state. The intersection of these three entities at the classroom level affects program effectiveness and teacher perception about bilingual education. This study identified the context of these three levels of implementation and how these impacted the micro level of teachers' experiences and views about bilingual programming. Even though each school is given the latitude to develop their own bilingual proposal to meet the needs of its specific population, the district cannot provide enough bilingual resource teachers to meet the needs of the large PHLOTE student population due to insufficient funding and the scarcity of bilingual teachers. Each school site is given a great deal of latitude by the district to write and implement its own bilingual proposal. It does not however, offer administrators of these schools specific training regarding issues related to second language acquisition. The administrators in these schools receive budgetary annual workshops to help them with the funding of their bilingual programs. It is left up to the bilingual resource teachers to provide the expertise to lead the school in the writing of the bilingual proposal. Because of the shortage of bilingual resource teachers, many of these teachers are on waivers and do not have the expertise to deal with administrative issues and the complex nature of implementing the bilingual proposal. Typically a small committee of volunteers writes this proposal with little time for reflection or long term planning. The result is a document that is written to meet the district and state mandates for the additional funding for bilingual resource teachers with little impact on challenging the status quo of the school and the existing climate of bilingual instruction. The bilingual proposal does not provide new teachers with much guidance or support unless they have experienced teachers to help them or an administrator who is well-versed in bilingual education.

The state department of education provides the school district with specific guidelines and a computer disk with the skeletal outlines of the proposal. It is left to each school site to develop their own bilingual program with the leadership of the principal and the bilingual staff. The district does not provide bilingual resource teachers or principals in bilingual schools with ongoing professional development opportunities to meet the challenges of inadequate funding, bilingual resource teachers on waivers and school staffs without training in second language acquisition training. The state has specific certification requirements for bilingual teachers but does not provide any salary incentives like surrounding states which makes the recruitment and retention of bilingual teachers in this state more problematic. In addition, this state does not accept bilingual certification from other states. It has its own specific requirements which eliminate many qualified applicants from the pool of

bilingual certified teachers or it forces them into taking additional university courses. Furthermore, the state mandates hourly requirements for the implementation of bilingual programs yet the funding formula only provides a 60:1 student teacher ratio which is grossly inadequate in light of the needs of the large population of second language learners in this school, this district and the state as a whole. I will discuss each of these levels of implementation and specific issues which teachers addressed in this study which are indirectly impacted by these larger macro levels at the district and state level.

APPENDIX A

Pilot Study Questionnaire

1. What do you feel has worked in your class during the Bilingual program?
2. What changes do you suggest to change the program?
3. What do you feel is the role of the classroom teacher when the Bilingual Resource Teacher is in your classroom?
4. How, when, and how often do you want to meet with the Bilingual and ESL support staff?
5. What would you be willing to do or be involved in to better meet the literacy needs of LEP students?
6. What kind of support would you like to improve your own professional skills as a teacher who supports LEP students?
7. Do you have any innovative ideas for structural changes in delivery?
8. Would you be willing to incorporate Spanish into some of your regular routines e.g. calendar, etc. in order to free up resource teachers to work on reading and writing with monolingual children?

APPENDIX B

SURVEY QUESTIONS

* Should bilingual* students:

☐ 1. Keep their first language and learn a second language.

☐ 2. Learn English as quickly as possible and not necessarily keep their first language.

☐ 3. Do you have another preference?

*Bilingual is loosely used and really refers to LEP students

Comments:_____

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

* Should bilingual students keep their first language and learn a second language or learn English as quickly as possible or do you have another preference?

1. What is your philosophy of bilingual education?

2. How effective do you think the bilingual program is at Mariposa? Can you give specific examples of its effectiveness?

3. How are program decisions regarding the bilingual program made at Mariposa?

4. In what ways are you effectively implementing the bilingual proposal and the district guidelines regarding the bilingual program?

5. What has this school district mandated to do to identify and provide services to LEP students?

6. How do you think these mandates impact your teaching?

7. How helpful was the LAS testing in identifying and assessing student needs?

8. What special training have you received to meet the needs of LEP students?

9. What do you do to support the work of bilingual and ESL teachers?

10. What methods of instruction to you use to meet the needs of LEP students?

11. Do you have any closing comments about bilingual education in general or the program here at Mariposa?

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